

## Message Text

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16

ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /031 W

----- 007396

P R 031036Z JAN 74

FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 539

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USLO PEKING

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 TAIPEI 0033

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, TW, CH, UR, US

SUBJECT: TRANSLATION OF PREMIER CHIANG CHING-KUO'S DOCUMENT  
ON APPARENT SOVIET OVERTURE

REF: TAIPEI 7708

1. THE FOLLOWING IS EMBASSY'S TRANSLATION OF THE  
DOCUMENT PREMIER CHIANG GAVE THE AMBASSADOR ON DECEMBER  
31 AS REPORTED IN REFTEL.

2. "DR. SIDNEY CHANG (CHANG HSU-HSIN, 1728/4872/1800),  
A CHINESE SCHOLAR IN THE USA AND PROFESSOR OF HISTORY  
AT CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, RETURNED TO THE REPUBLIC OF  
CHINA ON DEC 9, 1973, TO ATTEND THE THIRD SINO-US  
SYMPOSIUM ON 'CHINA MAINLAND PROBLEMS.' ON DEC 12,  
HE WENT TO BELGIUM TO ATTEND THE SYMPOSIUM ON THE  
FOREIGN POLICY OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA SPONSORED  
BY THE UNIVERSITY OF BRUSSELS. AFTER THE SYMPOSIUM,  
AT THE IMPROMPTU INVITATION OF DR. BORIS N. ZANEGIN, A  
RESEARCH FELLOW OF THE SOVIET ACADEMY OF SCIENCES WHO HAD ALSO  
BEEN ATTENDING THE SYMPOSIUM, HE WENT TO MOSCOW FOR A 3-DAY  
VISIT (DEC 19 - 21). DURING THE STAY, IN ADDITION TO  
VISITING SUN YAT-SEN UNIVERSITY AND GIVING A LECTURE AT  
THE FAR EAST INSTITUTE, HE ALSO HAD TALKS WITH THE DIRECTOR  
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OF INSTITUTE OF US STUDIES, THE DIRECTOR OF THE FAR EAST IN-  
STITUTE, AND OTHER RESEARCH FELLOWS OF THE SOVIET  
ACADEMY OF SCIENCES. ACCORDING TO PROF. CHANG'S REPORT, THE  
FOLLOWING POINTS MENTIONED BY THE SOVIETS IN THE TALKS MAY

HAVE REFERENCE VALUE:

3. "1. THE PRESENT OFFICIAL POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION IS THAT THERE IS ONE CHINA, AND THAT TAIWAN IS PART OF CHINA. THE SOVIETS DO NOT INTEND TO INTERFERE WITH THE INTERNAL POLITICS OF CHINA. THE SOVIET UNION RECOGNIZES WHOMEVER IS RULING CHINA. HOWEVER, MAO TSE-TUNG DOES NOT FULLY REPRESENT THE PEOPLE OF CHINA. THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION ARE NOT THE ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE OF CHINA. NOR IS THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT THE ENEMY OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE. THE SOVIET UNION WISHES TO UNITE WITH ALL ANTI-MAO FORCES.

4. "2. PRC HAS BEGUN PURCHASING WEAPONS FROM THE USA. THE WEAPONS WERE PURCHASED IN ORDER TO ATTACK TAIWAN. THE MAOIST COMMUNISTS HAVE ACKNOWLEDGED THE RIGHT OF THE USA TO INTERFERE IN THE INTERNAL POLITICS OF CHINA AND HAVE RECOGNIZED THE POLICY OF 'TWO CHINA'S'. SHOULD PRESIDENT NIXON RECOGNIZE THE PRC, THE SOVIET UNION WOULD NATURALLY BE ABLE TO IMMEDIATELY RECOGNIZE THE ROC ON TAIWAN.

5. "3. WHAT THE SOVIET UNION CONCERNS ITSELF WITH IS REAL INTERESTS. THE EXISTENCE OF TAIWAN IS A REALITY. THE PRESENT SITUATION IN TAIWAN WILL LAST FOR AS LONG AS 20 OR 30 YEARS. FOR THIS REASON, ESTABLISHING A CERTAIN DEGREE OF RELATIONS WITH ROC IS CONSTANTLY UNDER CONSIDERATION AND IS SOMETHING THAT WILL BE DONE GLADLY. HOWEVER, IT WOULD BE BEST FOR SUCH RELATIONS TO BE COMPLETELY UNOFFICIAL, TO BE ACADEMIC; IT COULD BE COVERT, SEMI-OVERT, OR FULLY OVERT, THE DEGREE DEPENDING ENTIRELY ON CHANGES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

6. "4. WHILE MAO TSE-TUNG IS ALIVE, RECONCILIATION BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE PRC IS IMPOSSIBLE. HOWEVER, THE SOVIET UNION WILL NOT ATTACK MAO FIRST, AND BELIEVES THAT MAO WILL NOT DARE TO ATTACK THE SOVIET UNION. THE SOVIET UNION KNOWS VERY LITTLE ABOUT CONDITIONS INSIDE ROC, AND THIS ONLY FROM WRITINGS OF AMERICAN SCHOLARS. THE  
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SOVIETS WERE CONCERNED ABOUT THE ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT ON PREMIER CHIANG IN NEW YORK AND ARE CONCERNED WHETHER OR NOT PREMIER CHIANG IS PAYING ATTENTION TO THE QUESTION OF A SUCCESSOR.

7. "5. THE SOVIETS ASSUME THAT THE ROC IS UNDER AMERICAN PROTECTION AND THAT FOR ROC TO HAVE RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION MIGHT RESULT IN THE TOTAL WITHDRAWAL OF THE AMERICAN MILITARY PRESENCE. WHILE RELATIONS WITH PRC ARE DETERIORATING BY THE DAY, THE SOVIETS STILL LOOK FOR OPPORTUNITIES FOR A FINAL RECONCILIATION.

8. "PROF. CHANG STATED THAT HE INDICATED IN THE TALKS

THAT WHILE HE IS AN AMERICAN PROFESSOR, THE FACT THAT HE IS A CITIZEN OF ROC IS MORE IMPORTANT. IN REVISITING MOSCOW THIS TIME, HE DID NOT HAVE ANY AUTHORITY TO REPRESENT THE GRC; NOR WAS HE AUTHORIZED BY THE GRC TO HOLD CONSULTATION ON ANY KIND OF CULTURAL EXCHANGE. HOWEVER, SHOULD THE SOVIET SCHOLARS HAVE ANY IDEAS, REGARDLESS OF WHETHER OR NOT THEY CLASHED WITH GRC POLICY, HE WOULD WILLINGLY AND RELIABLY REPORT THEM TO THE GRC. IF HE HIMSELF HAD EXPRESSED ANY VIEWS, THESE WERE BASED ON HIS OWN STUDIES AND HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH OFFICIAL POLICY.

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----- 007483

P R 031036Z JAN 74  
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 540  
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
USLO PEKING  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG

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9. "NOTE: CHANG HSU-HSIN, 40, IS A NATIVE OF CH'ANGNING, HUNAN; GRADUATE, DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, NATIONAL TAIWAN UNIVERSITY (1955); RESERVE OFFICER IN THE MARINE CORPS (1956); M.A., JOURNALISM, UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI, (1957-59); LIBRARY SCIENCE, FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY (1959-61); PH. D., HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN; CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, FIRST AS ASSISTANT PROFESSOR AND THEN AS FULL PROFESSOR (1966-PRESENT). IN 1970, HE ATTENDED THE 13TH INTERNATIONAL HISTORY CONFERENCE IN MOSCOW. AT THAT CONFERENCE, HE INSISTED ON EQUAL TREATMENT WITH ATTENDING SCHOLARS FROM OTHER COUNTRIES, NAMELY, THE DISPLAY OF HIS NATIONAL FLAG. THEREUPON, THE CONFERENCE DISPLAYED THE ROC FLAG. HE RETURNED TO ROC AFTER THE CONFERENCE. HIS FATHER, CHANG CHUNG-NING (1728/0022/1380), IS A MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. BEFORE RETIRING, HE WAS PROFESSOR AND DEAN OF STUDENTS AT TAIWAN NORMAL UNIVERSITY.

10. "ACCORDING TO SIDNEY CHANG, ZANEGIN, WHO INVITED HIM TO REVISIT THE SOVIET UNION IS A SENIOR RESEARCH FELLOW OF THE SOVIET ACADEMY OF SCIENCES. IN 1971, UNDER THE TERMS OF THE SOVIET-US CULTURAL AGREEMENT, ZANEGIN VISITED THE US ON A

RESEARCH AND LECTURE TOUR. CHANG BECAME ACQUAINTED WITH HIM  
WHILE HE WAS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA. PARTICIPANTS IN  
THE RECENT TALKS IN MOSCOW INCLUDED:

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QM LEV S. SUKTIANOV, DEPUTY HEAD OF FOREIGN DEPARTMENT,  
ACADEMY OF SCIENCES;

2. JAPARIT S. KUZADJAN, VICE DIRECTOR, INSTITUTE OF  
INFORMATION & FUNDAMENTAL LIBRARY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
OF THE USSR;

3. VIADINIV LUKIN, HEAD OF SECTION, INSTITUTE OF US SUTDIES,  
ACADEMY OF SCIENCES;

4. MIKHAIL SIZDOVAKY, DIRECTOR OF FAR EAST INSTITUTE,  
ACADEMY OF SCIENCES;

5. L. DELIUSSINE, DIRECTOR, CHINA SECTION, FAR EAST  
INSTITUTE, ACADEMY OF SCIENCES;

6. ANLEN MILKSETOV, CHAIRMAN, DEPARTMENT OF ORIENTAL HISTORY,  
MOSCOW INSTITUTE OF FOREIGN RELATIONS;

7. V.K. FEVKITISTOR, FAR EAST INSTITUTE, ACADEMY OF SCIENCES;

8. V.P. LOMYKIN, FAR EAST INSTITUTE, ACADEMY OF SCIENCES;

9. NICOLAS V. VASILEN, DEPUTY DIRECTOR, FAR EAST INSTITUTE;

10. VLADIMIR A. KRIVZOV, RESEARCHER, INSTITUTE OF FAR EAST.

THE INVITATION WAS EXTENDED IN THE NAME OF THE SOVIET  
ACADEMY OF SCIENCES".  
MCCONAUGHY

SECRET

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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